/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waíka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Haraterí," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./ obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirišna.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/8 cont./

175 648 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six [439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives, [115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits • [619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

• 69 These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas.

[185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the

[622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macuxi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

Surára
Pakidái

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same. 624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that • 619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
●619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquí, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemão.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Puseheweterí and Xirišna families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemão to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemão and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquí on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemão and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

2: Becher--158 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
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765
191
[765]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

5. War -- nĩanyu --

• 619
648
721

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára. Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidâi warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriśna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

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574

Two or three times a year a Xiriána chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of

345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

the Xiriána and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriána chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriána chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriána chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriána chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

619 /75 cont./ already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
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241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
[622] been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[621] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
[596] peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[84] From what has been published up to the present regarding
[94] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

name.

P 177 999 161 /184 cont./ Casapare Auake 555 Acmon. 55 16

expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y 177 648 The Maycoucon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y 101 619 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y A 104 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A 241 433 439 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A 501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A 582 A 101 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

Casapare Cariban Indians SR7 Auake SS5

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A [617] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
Y [619] migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[199] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C 648 toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, [86] injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which •[619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

114 Hans Becher, who conducted field work in two Yąnomamö villages on the upper Demini and the Aracá rivers (Pakidái and Surára) from October 1955 to June 1956. His results are summarized in his 1960 monograph, a general description of all aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 619 His analysis of Yąnomamö social organization is inadequate and misleading, particularly his treatment of the political organization about which he asserts that the Yąnomamö are divided into two large, antagonistic political blocs:

> The suggestion of the Surára headman is significant in this connection, according to which there are, within the Yanonámi People, two powerful tribes that constantly make war upon each other; first, the Xiriána, whose name for themselves is "Harateri," and, secondly, the Waika. All of the smaller tribes are on the side of one or the other, but are at the same time liable to them for tribute and war duty. (1960:6. See also p. 73 and his 1957a:119 and 1957b:115 comments. Zerries [1964:1] expresses his dissatisfaction with this interpretation also. My translation.)

114 In 1958 and 1960 Johannes Wilbert briefly visited Yąnomamö (Sanema) villages in the upper Ventuari River and upper Caura River, summarizing his results in his 1963 publication.

Although Wilbert regards the villages he visited as representative of the Yąnomamö villages described in the works of Zerries and Becher, his reports are somewhat at variance with the accounts of the latter, particularly with respect to economy and aspects of social organization. On these topics Wilbert tends to accept Koch-Grünberg's state-